

Review of Literature
on
Causes of Violence
North Western Frontiers- Pakistan

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Review of Literature;

Culture and Civilisation¹ are two inherent overlapping threads which tends to explain a new paradigm in International relations. In 1992 , Samuel Huntington published his prophetic article Clash of Civilisation.² The hypothesis that clashes will take place among civilisations, that non Western modern states will

1 Civilisation , a state of human society which is highly developed, a society ,its culture and its way of life at a particular period of time or in a particular part of world. Culture on the other hand is escribed as way of life, and social organisation of particular country or group {Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English, seventh edition}

² Samuel P. Huntington 'The Clash of Civilizations?', in *Foreign Affairs* , vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 22–49.also see by same author *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996.) The original article stirred up more discussions in three years than any other article published in journal since 1940.

emerge as the powerful states, thus West must maintain its military supremacy. The hypothesis was the most read article in last half of a century, it initiated and started a debate on the civilisations. Samuel was not a historian but an analyst, he based his premise upon history, in which he identified the civilisation basing upon geography and numbered them to be 24. Whereas he cited with authority the history of the Egyptian and Chinese civilisations and built his arguments on the line of Western Civilisation as the ultimate and the penultimate in history. To him, the world's salvation lies in adopting the western norms of life and he argued that other civilisations are adopting the western way of life as the most viable. To him, the coming years will see a rise in the industrial might of the China and a likely clash among the western and eastern civilisations. Samuel expressed his inability regarding the Indus civilisation and mistaken it as the combination of both Pakistan and India

Now twenty-five years later, much of his prophecy is true, the world did clash in the Bosnia, Iraq and in Afghanistan; China has emerged as a financial giant. However, it is the on-going war on militancy which is perceived as a clash of civilisation between the Islam and west; a conflict which has emerged more due to religion than of ideology or economics . It is the admission by Huntington regarding his lack of

knowledge regarding the Indus Civilisation the arena of current conflict that has prompted the literature review to start from the very root of civilisation.

Whereas the history or the epigraphy³ of Nile and Euphrates has been able to pass down to us the culture and religion of these two great civilisation, no physical evidence was available for India other than the oral traditions : Vedas .⁴ The Vedas speak of the battles that took place between the Aryans and the Dravidians. Aryans were a fun loving people who were believers in a monotheistic deity. They lived in a close knit clan society where friendship was regarded as a sign of nobility and refusing alms to a needy person was looked down. Women were respected yet they were not involved in the spheres of running the society. Intoxication through natural herb was an acceptable part

³ Issac Cory *Ancient Fragments of the Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Persians, Indians and other writers*, (London:Pickering1832)

⁴ Vedas (means knowledge) which are four in series the first one was composed in 11th or 12th century BC and is called Rig Veda the second is called Samaveda and is composed of hymns of the Rig Veda the third Veda was composed in 10th or 9th century BC and is known as Yajurveda and is composed of prayers the fourth veda is called Atharvaveda. Raeshwar Gupta *The Rig Veda a History*, (Chittagong: Jogendra Nath,1904),p-12.

of the society, Rig Veda mention a tribe by the name of Pakhta which is identified with present day Pathans.⁵

*These Indo-Europeans were white men like the Semites but they spoke a different language they had lived among the peaks which surround the plateau of Iran and that are why we call them Aryans Under the leadership of Zarathustra (or Zoroaster) who was their great teacher many of them had left their mountain homes to follow the swiftly flowing Indus River on its way to the sea.*⁶

At some time in 516 B.C., Darius commissioned Skylax a Greek seaman of Karyandu to explore the course of the River Indus⁷ during which not only the river was explored but the people living astride were also made subject of the Persians⁸ there are no accounts of a battle waged or waged for this dominion purpose . The Satapatha Brahman narrates how people of India moved from west to east; the route along the foothills of the mountains the Himalayas was known as Uttarapatha or

⁵ *Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume 1, Indian Empire Descriptive.* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1907-1909) pp, 360-370.

⁶ Hendrik Van Loon, Ph.D. *The Story of Mankind* November 27, 2009 [EBook #754]

⁷ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series NWFP Volume 20* (Calcutta : Government of India , 1908) , 13.

⁸ Peshawar belonged to the Gandharan Satrapy, see Charles Miller *Khyber, British India's North West Frontier , The story of an Imperial Migrane* (New York, : McMillan, 1977), p-xiii-7.

the northerly route and Daksinapatha the southerly route⁹. The initial Aryan state took its birth in the uttarapatha (Harappa and close vicinities) which can be roughly transmitted as the modern day Grand Trunk Road which is in existence for last almost two thousand years in different variation but its general orientation is still astride the mountains crossing all the five rivers of the Punjab and that of Indus and Kabul in the west and of Ganges in the east. The great cities of the Aryan were Delhi as Indraprastra, Varanasi as Kasi, and Patna as Pataliputra (in the year 400 B.C.).

*Historia*¹⁰ is the first written account of Indus Valley¹¹ and throws light on the culture and military aspects of the Persian Empire and its relation to the Indus Valley. Cyaxares (625-593 BC) and his descendants Cyrus (550-530BC) were able to conquer the Greek cities of Asia Minor and later to extend their

⁹John Keay, *India a History*, (NewYork : Grover, ,2000),pp. 41-47.

¹⁰ Herodotus *The History*, translated by George Rawlinson, ed Manuel Komroff,(NewYork,Tudor, 1928). Herodotus was born in 484-428 BC ,

¹¹ Arya Desh was the name of India, Northern Tribes call it India or Hindu as noted by Hsin-Tu in 7th AD, see , Jawaharlal Nehru. *Glimpses of World History being further letters to his daughter written in prison and containing a rambling account of history* . (NewYork: John Day,1942).first published 1934.p-63. .Chinese called India as Shin-Tu see James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms The Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India &Ceylon AD 399-414*, (Oxford,1886),p-26.also see Jhon Keay *History of India* (NewYork : Grover, ,2000),p-57,

rule in the east to the inclusion of the Indus river and to its upper mouth at Taxila which the Persians called Sindhu and Gandhara respectively, they made a satrapy(province)} of this Indian conquest. It highlights the wealth and diversity of culture in the Indus Valley. It was paying tax more than any other twenty Satrapies¹², Persian language lacked the S phonetic thus Sindhu became Hindu and that is how the area and people living astride River Sindhu or Indus Valley became Hindustan and Hindus. word for river in Sanskrit is Sindhu. Herodotus wrote about the Sindhu, 'these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and follow the same code of life as the Bactrian's, they are the most war like than any other tribe.'¹³ This phonetic variation have a deep impact on later and present history, as majority of Pakistan's population considers the very word Hindu as a racial and religious taboo, therefore it is almost blasphemous to associate history with it.

¹² Darius I (521-485BC) had his empire divided in twenty satrapies Tashkila (Taxila) was one among them, the most rich among all, paying tax in gold rather than the silver. It establishes the fact that there existed a trade route between the upper India and the Central Asia passing through Khyber.

¹³ Herodotus *The Historia*, 182. also see Olaf Caroe, *Pathn*), 28..also see Pliny *Natural History Book VI*, p-30. Also see Micheal Woods, *Story of India, a video*, British Broadcasting Corporations, London, 1998.

2.1 Alexander's campaigns in Indus Civilisation

There is always a watershed mark in history the very first and till to date most authentic water mark in relation to sub continental past is Alexander The Great who in 326 BC. invaded India, infact almost all historical inquiries regarding India starts with Alexander the Great for the reason that Indians were poor in recording their history¹⁴. In 334 BC; Alexander the Great spearheaded the Greek military, in an effort to avenge the Persians, the other empire ruling the known world then. Alexander annihilated the Persians on the banks of Granicus followed by at Issus(333BC) and in 331 BC at Arbella. Alexander and his military marched through present day Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon and Libya . In January 330 BC, Alexander and his army entered into Persepolis. Alexander had reached the banks of River Oxus, chasing the Persian Emperor Darius who was on the run as a fugitive , he was later killed by a native and thus ended the very purpose of Alexander's campaign in Persia.¹⁵

¹⁴ Nehru *Discovery of India*, 92.

¹⁵ Peter Green *Alexander The Great* (London, Weidenfeld, 1970). 162-191.

. When Alexander was knocking on Indus Civilisation's head(Ghandara Civilisation) in 327¹⁶ B.C. Indus Civilisation had no unity other than they all dwell on the banks of River Indus and its tributaries. The resultant campaign in Indus Civilisation has to be compared with the conduct of Persian Civilisation in order to draw an inference , as Alexander did not ventured beyond River Beas thus inductions and deductions are drawn basing upon his campaigns which constitutes present day Pakistan.

Alexander had established a city with his name Alexandria almost 25 miles north east of Kabul and it is from this base that he entered into the present day Pakistan.¹⁷ Alexander had divided his forces into two groups with 30,000 ¹⁸ under his personal command , the other group advanced through Khyber Pass under Hephaestion and Perdiccas¹⁹ *'The Greeks which entered*

¹⁶ Arrian *The Campaigns of Alexander* translated by Aubrey de Selincourt { Penguin,1971 },261.Alexander the Great sacked Turkey in 334-333 BC,Phoenicians in 333-332,Persepolis in 331-330 and pushed into Arachosia{Afghanistan} & Sogdia{Uzbekistan}in 329-328 BC, he was in vicinity of Kabul in 327 BC.

¹⁷ For area familiarisation see Arrian *The Campaigns of Alexander* translated by Aubrey de Selincourt (Penguin,1971).194.

¹⁸ Charles Miller *Khyber, British India's North West Frontier, The story of an Imperial Migrane* (New York McMillan, ,1977), xiii-7. John Keay, *India a History*, (Grover,NewYork,2000), 41-47. Jhon Keay gives the figures of 50,000 .

¹⁹ Yenne Bill *Alexander The Great*, (New York Palgrave, McMillan, ,2010), 134-135.

India through Khyber Pass were offered resistance by the city of Peucelaotis{ present day Peshawar} resultantly the governor of the city was killed in the battle which took place after a siege of thirty days . ²⁰

The very route which Alexander adopted, remained the most strategic pass in terms of ease and time till today. It can be termed without debate as the geographical pivot of not only Indus Civilisation but also of South Asian history.

Alexander personally marched through present day Kafiristan- Swat-Bajaour (Aspasians-Gurraeans-Assaceniens) ‘the route was rough and mountainous and the crossing of the river was no easy task’. ²¹ Alexander was wounded in one of the unknown towns in the mountainous area probably in the vicinity of Arigaeum (present day Nawagai) over 40,000 population made prisoner of war and 2,30,000 oxen were taken.²²

Massaga was the largest town in the Swat which had over 7000 troops (mercenaries) from India, thus it highlights that , even in that era, people from other part were present in Swat. Massacre at Massaga is a black

²⁰ Robin Lane Fox *Alexander the Great* {London, Allen Lane, 1973}, 341-350. Sir Aurel Stein *On Alexander the Great's Track to Indus* Personal Narrative of Explorations on The North-West Frontier of India ,(London 1929),43-48.

²¹ Arrian *Campaigns of Alexander*, ,p-240.

²² Arrian's *Anabasis and Indica*, translated Edward James Chinnock (Chickwick press,1893). 229.

spot on the heroic structure of Alexander, on the other hand it stands as a high point of Ghandara Civilisation military culture. At Massaga²³ the capital of Assacenians (the town is not yet identified) *'Indians offered stout resistance...siege lasted for four days...many Indians were butchered even after surrender...Alexander married the Queen Cleophis of Massaga...Alexander had a son from her.'*²⁴

The time which Alexander took in all this from Alexandria to the Taxila is almost four to six weeks by any means he must have started his expedition in and around February because Arrian do mention him waging war in the snow²⁵ what is strikingly missing is the absence of Nanga Parbat or any other mountain even the famous mountain in Chitral The Safeed Koh(Tirch Mir) is not mention what is mention is a peak of over 12000 feet and other of 7000 feet which lies almost 75 miles north of Attock; where Alexander went with his companions for ritual sacrificial. Alexander crossed River Indus, at Ohind, close to present day Attock Fort without much of resistance. The ruler of Tashkila (Taxila) Ombhi himself associated with Alexander the Great and afforded help. Tashkila was the richest of all satrapies of Persia ,a city of wealth and culture. and the

²³ Curtiss called it Mazagae ,*Anabasis* . 233.

²⁴ Arrian, *Annabis*, 246.

²⁵ Ibid,p-194.

tax which they were paying was the largest and most numerous of all the Darius's twenty satrapies, they were paying 360 gold dust talent.²⁶ Where as the Bactrian were paying 360 silver talents and the value of gold was 13th times more than the silver, Sogdians were paying 300 silver talents.

It was the geography which accorded such structure to Tashkila ; in 1960, Pakistan shifted its capital from seaport Karachi to Islamabad , few miles east of Tashkila. This highlights that the ancient strategic towns are still equally vital, thus the cultures also survived .

Battle of Rivers; Military heritage of Pakistan

The next important milestone was the crossing of River Hydaspus (Jhelum) in 326 BC;.²⁷ Alexander had

²⁶ Herodotus, p-182

²⁷. a debate is raging today as to locate the spot from where Alexander made his crossing ,there is a stone at the 17th hole of River View Golf Course at Jhelum which marks that point, other is a village Jalalpur few miles down stream . see J.F.C.Fuller *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge,1948) also see Robin Lane Fox *Alexander The Great* (London, Allen Lane,1973).

now entered into the Punjab, the most populous of all Indus civilisations. The river unlike the western frontier, flows in a north-south direction. The battle of Hydapus is a cultural heritage of Pakistan as the historians have nothing but praised for the character of Rajah Porus ‘ *a man of character he was different from the Persian Darius who fled from the battlefield.. Porus’s two sons died in the battle field....he looked majestic after the defeat in his over seven feet tall frame* .²⁸ Alexander and his forces were able to cross the river after a hard battle, neither Porus fled from the battlefield nor his military, quite a contrast from the conduct of Persians in similar situation. Porus unlike Darius , who prior to Gugamela sent messages of peace to Alexander, opted for the battle.

Alexander and Porus became friends to an extent that Alexander took campaigns to suppress the neighbouring tribes {the tribes across Porus boundaries were called Gleuganicae} on behalf of the Porus, all in all Alexander capture 37 towns after his battle with Porus and the smallest town had the population of 5000 inhabitants.²⁹ Alexander then move towards east in the pursuit of another Porus who unlike his name sake

355-360. Commander Sarat Menon ‘‘The Battle of Hydaspes’’ *The Journal of United Services of India* Volume CXLVI.no 606. (October-December 2016);525-541,}.

²⁸ Arrian, *Annabis*, 280.

²⁹ Arrian *Annabis*, 283.

remained a thorn in Alexander's crown and carry out hit and run tactics. Alexander crossed the Chenab (Acesines) close to the foothills of Himalayas with a constant fear of raids and ambushes. River Ravi (Hydraotes) was the last of the great river which Alexander crossed and camped in the present day Lahore & Amritsar District {part of India but it was supposed to be part of Pakistan on transfer of power in 1947}. 'Two days march from Hydraotes , Alexander reached the town of Pimpraena'³⁰at the banks of River Beas (Hyphasis). Greek soldiers will and morale was sapped by the fierce battles with the hill tribes of Sanga and Catahaei. Greek historians have named few of these tribes but there seems to be little doubt that they are the tribes of present day Jammu and adjoining territories inhabitants , 17000 Indians were killed here as compared to 12000 at River Jhelum.

Alexander , himself came up with the theory of linking the River Nile with the River Indus which was repudiated by his scholars in the field before he put it down in writing for his mother. The ruler of Kashmir, Abisares although did send his envoys but he, despite Alexander's calling did not come to meet him; this is the first mentioning of Kashmir in the world history. ' *Alexander promptly sent for Abisares adding a threat that should he fail to appear he would soon see the*

³⁰ Ibid, 286.

Macedonian army and its commander in chief in an unwelcome spot,³¹. Kashmir at present is in a state of agitation since 1947. It will remain a mystery of the history as to the actual cause of the Alexander's troops mutiny near Lahore, was it due to the fatigue as written or was it due to the incessant casualties being suffered in the hands of the native tribes and warriors; the demoralising effect of constant casualties cannot be overruled. 'I observe gentlemen that when I would lead you on a new venture you no longer follow me with your old spirits',³². Alexander in his farewell gift to his friend Porus made him the king of the India with over seven nations and having over 2400 towns under his control.

Alexander's retreat; Indus Valley

Alexander opted to retreat through the southern route, floating and sailing down on the Hydaspus and Indus rivers. Many a battles and skirmishes were encountered in the way although he had both banks secured with his infantry marching in some cases ahead

³¹ Ibid., 284

³² Alexander the Great speech recorded by Arrian., 292.

of his flotilla and in others following him to avert any surprise from the natives. The local forts which have been termed as the villages were reduced with violence yet the present day city of Multan and its inhabitants Mallians brought a catastrophe on the Alexander personally and over his army as well. Alexander was critically wounded in the citadel of Multan and the casualties which were suffered both by the natives and Greek, between the start of his retreat from Hydaspus till the crossing of Multan are in excess of 80,000. Alexander was constantly harassed by the riparian tribes forcing him to get down from his flotilla and pursue them on land with cavalry thus suffering more casualties and causing havoc on the natives yet unable to break their will to fight, that was the finest season of Indus Valley's history. Harassment and attacks on Greeks continued all along the Indus, from the ancient towns of Mohenjo-Daro and Kot Dijio as well as from the tribes of Baluchistan. It took ten months of river sailing before Alexander reached Pattalla the present day Hyderabad or Thatta, he camped and made two expeditions into the Arabian Sea before settling down to retreat along the coast line towards the west.

Alexander's fleet sailed in 325 BC , He himself marched through the present day Bela ,Kalat ,Makran (Gedrosia) ,Gwadar area constantly harassed by hostile population. Scarcity of water was so acute that

Alexander's troops again mutinied for drops of water, , it should be noted that over 1,00,000 troops and camp followers were with Alexander in this retreat and almost an equal number or less left in the boats through the sea route. Alexander regarded himself lucky and offered many sacrifices en route and at the end because Darius when he invaded India was able to leave with only seven companions.³³ The route which Alexander opted for retreat was adopted by the Arabs in 712 AD for invasion of Indus Valley; presently a coastal highway has been commissioned that links Karachi to Gwadar passing through the withdrawal route of Greeks.

Resistance to Greeks was not an isolated act of history, rather the repetition of phenomena and as such gives support to the militant culture of Indus Civilisation. The fighting character of the region is martial in nature as dictated by the constant battles offered to Alexander despite very high rate of attrition. It confirms the existence of the martial civilization not only in the ancient town mentioned in Vedas and which were excavated in 20th century but also bring to the fore new town like Multan and Pattalla and adjoining tribes .

³³ Semiramis and Darius kings of Persia had made an invasion of Indus Valley almost 500 BC but Semiramis was lucky to be able to take flight with 20 people and Darius with only seven people ,also see Alexander Robinson Junior *History of Alexander the Great extant historians & fragments* by (Brown University, Rhode Island,1953), 130.

Indian soldiers were divided into cavalry and foot soldiers, a foot soldier carried a shield in his left hand, a sword and a bow which was as large as himself, the arrows sharp and nothing can resist an arrow from an Indian bow³⁴ the foot soldiers also carry a javelin(not all) their swords were heavy and during striking he will use his both hands for the purpose. The cavalry had the horses which were not saddled and neither had the harness rather they had their own peculiar iron bit, the horsemen would have a small shield. 'Men are taller than any other Asiatics most of them being over seven feet or not much less...the finest fighters to be found any where in Asia at that time'.³⁵

The theory that lost soldiers of Alexander took residence in the mountains that fell in the route of his advance especially the Swat-Dir and Bajour lacks arguments because equal number of soldiers were left in the Indus Valley and along the Indus river it self and more important in the coastal area as well but there the people are even today black in colour and hardly ever any person is found there with blue eyes unless all such persons and their descendants were killed in the subsequent years as a mark of disgust or revenge.

Thus the social life pattern that was missing about India and so abundant about the fertile crescent

³⁴ *Lost Histories*,129.

³⁵ Arrian,-261.

and Nile was to some extent filled by the Greek historians. The historians which travelled with Alexander and later wrote the account falls into distinct cadres the original court historian Callisthenes of Olynthus was allegedly killed for his being outspoken.³⁶ One of the historian Quentin Curtis have poor opinion about the Indians and it is he who mentioned that in Taxila the unwanted girls are put up for sale whereas Nearchus have high regard for the Indians. Historians do mention that some of them spend a whole season of winter in the mountains probably Kashmir they also highlight that Indian by and large are grain eaters but the hill men live on the flesh of the animals. Alexander had left his viceroys in the India however not much of history is available from them one of the envoy or ambassador was Megasthenes who wrote *Indica*³⁷ and like the earlier history of Alexander it is full of contradiction . Megasthenes talk of proud bearing possessed by the natives , the Dionysus is again highlighted ‘made his appearance from the westhead of a large army ...which suffered from heat and retired to the hills’.³⁸ His narration of the gold digging ants and the men with eight toes in the feet who ate nothing and drink nothing who have no nostrils but orifices is

³⁶ Ibid,-5,9,16

³⁷ Megasthenes was an emissary of Selectus Nicator.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indica-by-Megasthenes>.

³⁸ Ibid.

something which is highly illogical and as such renders the whole history as a matter of fantasy, the biggest omission is that of Naga Parbat and other peaks it seems absolutely out of place and sense that these peaks are over looked in any of the annals of the history writing, probably the Indus was not yet trekked to its mouth which is also illogical in nature.

Greek Literature

Greek wrote histories of wars , from observation, dialogues and debates, the hypothesis and theories were formulated as why man and states resort to violence. The theory and paradox³⁹ of good and bad, ethics, idealism and realism took birth, the concept of democracy, dictatorship and warfare flourished. Greeks were not perfect, they regarded women as a lower form of civilisation, but they certainly glorified the warfare.

Aristotle kept the war separate from political philosophy, Plato⁴⁰ declares that military science and theory of warfare form a part of art of citizenship referring here to skill in the use of arms⁴¹. Morality to Plato was a key factor of the human life and the debate

³⁹ *Zeno Paradoxes*. Zeno (490C-430 BC) a pre Socratic philosopher

⁴⁰ *Plato Republic*, p-56

⁴¹ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The Theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* (London: George Allen, 1970), p - 18

about what is good and what is bad starts from here, Plato did not reach any conclusion in his dialogues other than that morality is something which only an individual can judge what is wrong and what is right.

*‘ Since it is the expressed opinion that morality is one of those paramount good things which are worth having not just for the consequences but also and especially for themselves... so it is not enough just to demonstrate that morality is better than immorality, show us why one of them, in and of itself makes anyone who possess it good’.*⁴²

An interesting factor was highlighted by Aristotle when he stated that among the barbarians there is no distinction made between the slaves and females. The concept of family is the fundamental in the Aristotle’s philosophy. He highlights the concept of state as being founded on a family, families forming villages and villages becoming states. An ideal village is thus the one in which all families (children and grandchildren) are said to be ‘suckled with the same milk’. Every family is ruled by the eldest ‘each one gives law to his children and to his wives’⁴³. Frontier tribes specifically the Wazir are a living example of this.

⁴² Plato *Republic*, a new translation by Robert Waterfield, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993),p-56.

⁴³ Aristotle has attributed this quotation to Homer , also Plato has also cited the same in his *Laws*, *Politica* ,p-1128.

After the retreat of Alexander, the upper India came under the Chandra Gupta Maurya in 321 BC⁴⁴ and more importantly the very first treatise of politics and warfare was written⁴⁵ by the mentor who became the vizier or the king maker.⁴⁶

Asoka the grand son of Gupta was enthroned in 260 BC, his greatness and his impact is not only in the vast empire which he created and left, but in the fact that he seems to be the very first ruler not only of India but of the known world who detested the violence and the misery which the conquest brings in the aftermath, and all this is known to us through his pillars. His edicts, his laws and orders which were engraved on the rocks in

⁴⁴ He has been quoted by many historians to be present at the court of Alexander at Taxila along with his friend and mentor Chankya Kautalya, the Chankya was a Brahmin in the court of Nanda and was reportedly insulted and in retaliation was keen to take the avenger and this brought these two together and their first attempt at creating a rebellion failed however they learned from a boy eating the bread and as such planned their next move in a way that they instead of toppling the empire from centre started from the outside and were succeeded and as such the very first Indian empire of a magnitude was created

⁴⁵ This work in Sanskrit was discovered almost two thousand years later in Madras when accidentally the palm leaves were handed over to the chief librarian however the tests reveal that the work is more than the labour and thought of one person but that has been the constant irritant and shortcoming of the Indian history however when the work is treated at par with the other works on India then one at least get a fair idea of the working pattern of the Maurya empire

⁴⁶ Nehru ,p-116

all corners of his empire and thus he has been able to preserve the history of the India of that unknown period through a medium which is more reliable than the Greek historians account of fantasies and myths. These edicts were first attributed to Asoka in 1837⁴⁷, his major edicts are spread and erected in Kandahar, Shahbazgarhi near Peshawar, and Manshehra in the west of India there are fourteen major rock edicts, eight minor rock edicts and inscriptions and seven major pillar edicts ,these edicts have preserved the history

*On conquering Kalinga the beloved of god felt remorse.....slaughter, death and deportation of the people is extremely grievous to the beloved of the gods....this inscription of dhamma has been engraved so that any sons or great grand sons ...should not think of gaining new conqueststhey should only consider conquests of dhamma*⁴⁸

Asoka, became a Buddhist and adopted a non-violent policy or dharma as the philosophy of his life and government and this policy seems to be the driving force of the India from him onward and India had to pay a heavy price for this, it seems to be the dilemma of humanity that abstain from violence has much more serious repercussions for the society as a whole than

⁴⁷ Keay *History of India* .p-88

⁴⁸ Ibid,p-92

having the violence as way of life and this was aptly proved in the coming centuries rather it will not be out of the contest to point out that for over 1500 years the India suffered from this policy of idealism.

2.2 Dark Age

The five hundred years after the death of Asoka has been described by the historians as the ‘dark age of India’⁴⁹ ‘one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history’⁵⁰. India after the Asoka plunged into anarchy with a wave of Aryan tribes invading in succession and on regular basis from the northern India to be more precise from the north west, if history is to be taken as a yard stick of the past events and it is believed that it repeats itself than there is little to imagine that these invaders were none other but the descendants of the Aryan race . These were the tribes who lived in the high plateaus of the Central Asia where they lived in the nomadic style of society but one fact seems to be quite obvious that they did not shared the philosophy of non-violence. These Aryans people and tribes were the

⁴⁹ Ibid,p-101

⁵⁰ Munshi,Majumdar & Pusalker *History & Culture of the Indian People, Volume 3,Classical Age*, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954),p-xlii also see *Nehru* ,p-127

Sakas, Khusahan and Parthians. The empire of the Asoka was broken down in the feudatories mainly on the fringes of the empire, Kashmir and Afghanistan which was not yet Afghanistan as it is known to us today but all along the mountains of Himalayas and the Caucasus there were independent Aryan tribes, who with every passing year descended down to the extent that Sakas were finally fully entrenched in the east of the Indus thus the Brahmin and Hindu empires were almost diminished to non-entity. Indus Valley again became dominant over the other two riparian civilisations.

Our knowledge about these invaders is based not on any text or rock edict but on the coins which have been unearthed so far. Sakas, Parthians and Pahlavas were all inter related to each other, whereas Sakas are believed to be coming from the Bactra the Parthians are believed to be Persian tribes, their route of invasion are also debatable with scholars citing the either Bolan or Khyber Passes as the likely routes along with Kashmir⁵¹. The Chinese tribes of Yeuh-Chi known as Khushanas or Kanishke were in power over the north western part of India the present day North Pakistan from 78 AD onwards till 260 AD, they had Kashmir (Ki-Pin) Bactria (Ta-Hia) Kabul (Kao-Fu) and India (Tien-Chu) under

⁵¹ K.C.Sagar *Foreign influence on Ancient India*, (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1992}, p-121-122. Richard Frye, *History of Ancient Iran Volume 3 Part 7*, (Colchester, Ballantine, 1984), p-178.

their suzerainty. The rising power of the Persian Aryans known as Sassanian under Ardashir led to Kushans downfall , Sassanians were soon in control of the Balkh, Merv and Khorasan. Thus the Sassanians were having the rule over Western India including Makran and Sind, in Punjab independent feudatories were established by the Kushan chiefs namely Shilada ,Shaka and Ghadara clans .

In the year 400-411 A.D., a Chinese traveller Fa-Hien travelled in India which was being ruled by the Chandra Gupta II, (no relation with the Chandra Gupta of Mauraya dynasty). Fa Hien narratives are the first recorded record of any person highlighting the mountainous city of the Skardu (Iskardoo) . He has brought to notice the ‘venomous dragons which when provoke spit venom’ and also the difficult and rugged path he had to follow to reach the Taxila from the Iskardoo and enroute he mentions of a rock 10,000 cubits in high along the Indus , he spoke of six countries which he entered after Khotan⁵² .(The other notable Chinese traveller which left a record of their sojourn was Hiuen Tsang 630-45 A.D)

⁵² *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms the Chinese Monk Fa Hien of his travels in India & Ceylon A.D., 399-414*, translated and annotated by James Legge, professor of Chinese in Oxford University.(Oxford,1886), pp 21-26.

The White Huns who were also a Aryan nomadic tribe , these Huns had migrated from their home land of China in two major groups the one headed towards the Volga and other towards the Oxus. The Huns in the Oxus by fifth century AD were a powerful entity and from their founder attained the name of Ye-Tha, Hepthalites or Ephthalites and the Greek referred to them as White Huns.⁵³ They were initially repulsed during the time of Sakanda Gupta in 460 AD when they were defeated probably near Taxila because they already had the Gandhara under their control.

Conduct of war at that time is shrouded in mystery because the Indian historians do mention of inflicting a crushing defeat yet keeping in mind the philosophy of Dharma it is not beyond reason to believe that the Huns were allowed to retain a certain area with them. Huns were fully established at Balkh before they made their next move towards the India; in 510 A.D; under their leader Toramana they came down through the Kashmir Valley and routed the Dravidian military near Gwalior which indicates that they had the territory west of Indus under their control already . Toramana thus becomes the first of the Aryan ruler to have a large Indian territory under his control, he had United Provinces, Kashmir, Rajputtana, Punjab and Madhya Pardesh. After the death of Toramana his son Mihirakula

⁵³ . Majumdar *India* , p-34 also see Keay , p-117-134.

ruled not only India but Ceylon and Southern India which makes him the most powerful Aryan emperor of all time with Sialkot as the capital which is at the base of Kashmir. It leads to the deduction that Kashmir became the base of these Huns probably because of the weather and more importantly it kept their rear protected. However it was their defeat from the joint Persian and Turks in 563-567 A.D; on the Oxus which finished their rule in India , they also suffered a military defeat from the Maukharis of India . Keeping the past history as the guideline it is logical to believe that these Huns settled down in the India and the mountainous territory.

2.3 Divine Violence

Divine religions brought the ideological concept of violence among the mankind, the laws of god were the final and nothing can alter them. In post Greek era, hypothesis and theories thus revolved around the divinity, the ontological argument were put forward in the defence of divinity. The three divine books have a richness of history, present international affairs and conflicts revolves around the followers of these books, Jews, Christians and Muslims respectively.

There are many concepts common among all three religions, they do believe in the heavenly creation of the universe by the unseen creator who took six days to create the earth, and rested on seventh day. God⁵⁴ created light, water, plants, day and night, sun and moon, animals. From the research model clay , god created Adam (man) and from his ribs created Eve (woman) , both were placed inside a garden , with a restriction that Adam can do anything less eating from one specific tree. Eve was instigated by the snake in disobeying the commandment of god, ‘ this fruit will give you wisdom’ in turn Eve persuaded Adam to eat the forbidden fruit, which Adam despite the instructions did. God resultantly threw both out of heaven⁵⁵. Later Cain and Abel the two very first offspring of Adam and Eve were involved in the very first murder or act of violence on earth.⁵⁶ The aforementioned gospel has no evidence which can prove the narrative yet half of present day world population and 99% tribes of frontier believes on it .⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Creator is known as Allah by Muslims, Lord by Christians and Jevah by Jews

⁵⁵ Old Testament {Bible} Birth, I-25. Also known as The First Book of Moses Called Genesis.

⁵⁶ killing of Abel by the Cain was instigated by the refusal of god to accept the gifts of Cain whereas god accepted the gifts of Abel, thus killing and murder of Abel had the causal element in the very refusal of god himself

⁵⁷ The 1% tribes are the Kafir tribes of Chitral along the frontier. World population in 2011 was estimated as 7 billion with Pakistan

Jews have similar dietary laws, one striking feature of the Judaism faith was its absolute disliking of pig and its meat (Leviticus 11:7-8), Jews were also forbidden to eat the meat of camel and the fat of goat ,ox and sheep (Leviticus 7: 23-24) . Jews, persecuted Christians when this new religion emerged ,with both subjects being under the Roman Empire. Christianity does not change much in nature from the Judaism after all the Jesus said ‘ I have not come here to change anythingeverything which was said before even the comma stands as it is’(Matthew 5:17-19). However the one change that is visible in Christianity as compare to the Judaism is the tolerance of the adulteress women basing upon the Jesus’s reaction to the treatment of Lady Magellan. When Roman Empire did converted to Christianity the Christians in retaliation persecuted the Jews which lasted as late as till 1933-1945 in Europe. Islam⁵⁸ took birth in same geographical area as the other two,(present day Israel ,Jordan, Saudi Arabia). Islam initially had very cordial relationship with other two religions, later it developed a much severe outlook especially towards the Jews, but overall Islam allowed

ranked No 6 with 166 million population *"World Demographics Profile 2011"*. *Index Mundi*. Retrieved November 18, 2011. Almost 45% of world population believes in the theory of creation {Jews, Christians and Muslims} <http://redcresearch.ie/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/RED-C-press-release-Religion-and-Atheism-25-7-12.pdf>.

⁵⁸ Muhammad{pbuh 571-632 AD} was born in Mecca

marriages with other two religions. The laws of Islam does not vary much from the laws of Moses as both detest eating of pig meat idolatry and adultery, whereas the punishment for an adulteress is death in Judaism the same is applicable in Islam, the difference lies in the extremity of the laws.

Islam came from Arabia to subcontinent initially through the south western frontiers of Baluchistan and Sind and later from Central Asia . The religion established its foothold through military victories over the natives.

Muhammad bin Qasim the very first Muslim military commander after his victory married the daughter of defeated Hindu raja. Later Qasim had to pay a price in the form of his life when the same bride and her sister complained to the Caliph that Qasim has married both of them simultaneously which is against the Islamic rules. Qasim was reportedly sent back or received at the court tied and bundled inside a sack, he died quickly. There was something more to the causes of his death other than this marriage but it was still the root cause. The Islamic empire which was established by Qasim soon spread along the river bank of Indus as far upward as till Multan. The Central Asian Muslims brought down their version of Islam which they have learn from the Arabs who first invaded the Central Asia in 651AD. Central Asia or The Turk brand of Islam soon

became popular as Sufism; a more liberal and musical based inspirational meditation.

Thus two religions (Islam and Hinduism) emerged which later became as two civilisations and ideologies within the Indus Civilisation.⁵⁹ Islam itself was divided into two main sects, Shia and Sunni with Shias having more sympathy in Persia than in Arabia, resultantly in India also the same enmity continued which is present even today.⁶⁰ The tribes of frontier are

⁵⁹ The Cambridge 1, *The Central Islamic Lands*, edited by P.M. Holt (Cambridge, 1970), Bertold Spuler translated from German by F.R.C. Bagley *The Muslim World, Part 1, Age of Caliphs*, (Leiden, Brill, 1960), For Ismailism see Bombay High Court reports , 1866, Daya Muhammad & others Vs. Muhammad Hussein and others , p-333 also see *Gazetteer of Sind* by E.W. Aitkin 1817 and 1907 edition. Brigadier S.K. Malik *The Muslim Conquest of Central Asia*, (Rawalpindi, Army Education Press, 1981) . Arabs called all nomadic tribes as Turk.

⁶⁰ Third Caliph Uthman was assassinated, his kinsmen which included Muawiyah already governor of Syria were blunt in reaction and demanded justice which included apprehension of caliph's murderers, Ali's (fourth caliph) reaction was rather lukewarm and this infuriated Aisha the wife of late Prophet {pbuh} resultantly the two faced each other in the Battle of Camel (656 AD). Ali was victorious and he with due respect send Aisha back to Medina. Muawiyah refused to pay homage to Ali and another battle took place between them at Siffin in 657AD with no clear result , Ali was assassinated in 661AD while he was offering the prayers , the caliphate was now with the Muawiyah as Ali's elder son forfeited his claim to the caliphate. Later Yazid son of Muawiyah ascended to caliphate but he was challenged by the second son of Ali, Hussein who marched towards the Kufa with his family and small bands of followers numbering not more than two hundred but they were

overwhelmingly adherent of Sunni sect with Turi, Bangash and clans of Orakzai adhering to Shia sect. In Gilgit, Chitral, Hunza, the Shias are in majority, Ismail (Agha Khan) sect is the most populous in Hunza and Nagar. This sectarian difference has been one of the major cause of violence on the frontier .

2.4 Tuzk and Court Histories

Among the literature review the importance of autobiographies and travelogue is immense as they shed light on the cultural values.⁶¹ Mongol and Mughal Kings accounts are vital, fundamental and early source of the area, they allow a window inside the history makers. The gems of knowledge hidden among these autobiographies and biographies is immense.⁶² Another matter of interest is the government policy adopted by the Sultans of Delhi

slaughtered by the Yazid's forces near Karbala in 680 AD, with only women and children escaping the death who were made prisoners ; it rocked the Islam at its roots and till do date Islam is divided on the lines of people who believe that caliphate was the right of the Ali and his family and others who deny this. The followers of Ali or the family of prophet as they later came to be addressed as 'Ahle bayt' are known as Shias which literally means followers ,party ,group, associate ,partisans or supporters.

⁶¹ A good work is the *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms the Chinese Monk FaHien of his travels in India & Ceylon A.D., 399-414*, translated and annotated by James Legge, professor of Chinese in Oxford university(Oxford,1886).

⁶² Tamerlane wrote *Tuzk I Taimoori*, Babur wrote *Tuzk I Babari*, Humayun's sister compiled *Humayun Nama*, Jahangir wrote *Tuzk I Jahangiri*

during the Mongol invasion, they did not allowed the idealism to override realism. The Delhi Sultans did not allowed the Khawarzim a political asylum in the face of Mongol threats. Their act is so similar to the act of Pakistan in 2001 when it refused to give the political support to the Osama bin Laden in the face of American threats. Thus history repeats itself in almost similar pattern.

Tamerlane invaded India in 1398, he carried out campaign on India chiefly due to religious reason, he massacred over hundred thousand Hindus in his brief stay in India and he opted the Banian - Tochi route for his way back. From 1206-1526 A.D.⁶³ India or more specifically all the three riparian civilizations (Indus – Ganges – Brahmaputra) were under the control of Muslims who were chiefly Turks, Afghans and Pathans later this was overthrown by the Moghuls who descended down from Central Asia.

Babur the founder of Mughul Empire came through Khyber and Nawagai Passes and from this point onward these passes became the most strategic passes for

⁶³ The rulers who ruled India before the Moghuls have been termed as Delhi Sultans and the empire is termed as Delhi Sultanate. The rule of Delhi Sultanate is divided into following dynasties. Mamluks 1206-1290 A.D. Khiljis 1290 – 1320 A.D. Tughluqs 1320 – 1414 A.D. The sayyids 1414 -1451 A.D. and Lodhis 1451 – 1526 A.D.

the control of India. A constant armed friction and attrition remained among the Mughals and Pathans through out the former's rule. One source of this ill feeling was the Emperor Akbar's patronage of non Muslims in which Maan Singh was made the governor of Kabul in 1585A.D; the Mughal forces were inflicted humiliating defeats first in 1587 at Swat/ Bajaur than in 1620 another crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Mughals at Torah. Mughals were able to bring Peshawar under their control in 1630. Raja Jagat Singh kept Kohat & Bannu under Mughal sphere to keep the communication open towards Kabul through Northern Waziristan. It was at Khyber that Mughals faced the worst defeat when over 40,000 troops were annihilated in 1672 followed by defeat at Gandak in 1673 and then another defeat in 1674 at Khapash. All these battles highlight the militant culture of the Pathans and adds substance to the hypothesis that religion was the main cause of violence on western frontier , However like the Greeks the Mughuls also remained confined towards the Peshawar, Khyber, and Khyber Pass, area north and east of it.

Akbar the Great was an emperor of extraordinary stature, he was ruling a country with two diversified religions along with numerable sects. Akbar built a hall of debate probably the very first of its nature by any emperor anywhere in the history. In the end

Akbar took the decision to introduce a new official state religion Din Ilahi (religion of god) in which he combined all the qualities of all the three religions, the important factor was the supreme authority of Akbar himself and the emperors to follow in the matters of religious disputes. At that time there was no concept of secularism anywhere in the world, the crusades is a classical example of the mindset of history of that period followed by thirty years war in Europe. Mujaddid Alf Sani was the religious opponent who challenged Akbar's writ in this matter, he was a priest without any force of support of any kingdom and he was living in the same city as the emperor.

Nadir Shah (d 1747) a Persian Turk in 1738 , conducted the last rites of Mughal Empire by capturing Kandahar, Ghazna, Kabul and finally in 1739 defeated Emperor Muhammad Shah. Nadir laid the foundation of Afghanistan, his empire was as glorious and powerful as the Mughul Empire at its peak. This was the rise of Persia or the Western Muslim Aryans. Ahmed Shah Abdali (d 1772) is regarded as the father of modern day Afghanistan, as a country his rule extended beyond Indus in the east and Delhi became a vassal state. Above all he emerged as the real emperor of modern day India, Pakistan and Afghanistan by virtue of his crushing defeat of Marathas in 1761 at Panipat . Lahore, Kashmir,

Multan, Peshawar all became part of Afghanistan; which now emerged as a saviour of Islam.

Qutab Din Ahmed Ibn Abdul Rahim known as Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) has the distinction of saving the Moghul empire for few more decades and destroying the rise of Hindus for another 180 years when India was given freedom. Shah Waliullah was also a religious thinker and preacher and it was he who invited the Ahmed shah Abdali to come down to India in the name of jihad. Shah Waliullah traces his bloodline to second caliph Umar. He performed his hajj in 1731, where he stayed for over a year, Shah Waliullah belongs to the Naqsbandia sect of Sufism. Ibn Abdul Wahab (1703-1792) was an Arab scholar and religious reformer, he was at Mecca at the same time when Shah Waliullah was there and attended and received education from the same teacher yet both have not mentioned about each other in their work. Both played decisive role in the future of their respective motherland and on Islam. Fundamentally the key difference between the Ibn Wahab's teaching and the practice of Islam in India was in the fact that in India the saints and their shrines along with their successors were and are still held in high esteem where as no such decorum is practiced in Wahabism. Another prominent feature was their non acceptance of Shiaism.

Sikhism took birth in Punjab in 1520 AD and despite having Muslim sufi saints teachings as part of

their religion they were prosecuted ruthlessly by the Aurangzeb and as such when the Abdalli's forces were marching back to the mountain retreat they were attacked by the Sikh bands. In 1799 the Sikhs finally captured Lahore and within years had the Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar under their control. Sikhs did not had an easy and comprehensive control over the territory and people living on the Western bank of River Indus yet through a blend of diplomacy and militancy Ranjeet was able to have his forces in Peshawar⁶⁴ and for a short time had the control over the Khyber Pass as well. The Kabul and Lahore thus remained embroiled in a constant war of attrition. The tribes inhabiting the mountainous region remained independent and owed no allegiance to any ruler however the religious and ethnic commonality bounded them together against Sikhs furthermore the tribes internal feuds were such that they were erratic and unpredictable in their conduct, looting, levying of taxes on trade and forces passing through their area of influence were the cornerstone of their economy. Ranjeet Singh had kept the Kashmir under the Dogra rulers in a semi autonomous state. Kashmir at that time had no well defined boundary in the North ,West and East. Dogras expanded the frontiers of Kashmir in these three directions and were able to capture the Gilgit, Skardu, Laddakh and also made in roads into tribal territory of

⁶⁴ Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. (New Delhi: Hem, 1980). pp-48-52, pp 121-129.

Marghalla and Hazara hills. Ranjeet Singh also staked claims on Eastern Afghanistan.⁶⁵

2.5 Western Philosophy

Treaty of Westphalia (1648) recognized the undisputed sovereignty of secular rulers, it is the ruler right to determine state's religion, treaty further recognised a state dominance and sovereignty.⁶⁶ Alberto Gentili (1552-1608) is of the opinion that religion is an individual matter and as such religious wars cannot be justified. 'Let theologians keep silent about matters outside their province'. Gentili wrote about '*International Law as applied to War*', he primarily contends that no previous law on warfare has been given earlier thus there is a need to have them. The main issue is that all participants waging a war considers themselves justified, thus it is difficult to lay the blame on any one individual for waging the war. This simple equation

⁶⁵ Miller, *Khyber*, p xv

⁶⁶ In the same time period India, Emperor Akbar was already assuming the same power and adopted the spirit of Westphalia in totality, although he was not present and it is doubtful if he ever heard the name Westphalia. He introduced a state religion in which he collected the best and non controversial acts and beliefs of all his subjects(Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian) with himself as the Emperor having a final word in any dispute.

becomes monstrous when religion is included as the main cause of waging war, whereas for non-religious issues the way out or compromise can be made by highlighting the logic but even the logic fails in matter of religion. Hugo Grotius differ on the ground as ‘ Not on grounds of right in battle formed but rather with the sword do men seek to enforce their claim’. Grotius was of the opinion that history is important in understanding the laws of nature.⁶⁷ The legality of war in his opinion was based upon its justification ‘those wars are unjustified which are taken without any cause’ and as regarding the causes, he differs not from the logic ‘first; defence of self and property’. Another philosophical view as expressed by Emmerich De Vattel⁶⁸ (1714-1767) revolves around two principles, first one declares that ‘*regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides*’ and second principles govern *whatever is permitted to one because of the state of war is also permissible to the other*’⁶⁹. There is no war

⁶⁷ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* (New Jersey:Prentice Hall, , 1968), p-62.

⁶⁸ Vattel ,a Swiss wrote *Laws of Nation* and introduced the term Balance of Power. *Laws of Nation* is a famous work of Vattel and it has following segments , the natural law, the law taught by nature to all animals. Civil law is the one which is established by the people themselves and lastly *Laws of nation* which are laws established by nations.

⁶⁹ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The Theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* (George Allen, London, 1970), p 110.

between the man it is only between the states⁷⁰ wrote Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Clausewitz a 19th century Prussian military philosopher in his epic 'On War'⁷¹ has stated war as an extension of policy, he further highlights that defence is the more strong type of military operations than offense. Clausewitz defines war as an act of violence, with an aim to either to over throw the enemy or to occupy his frontier districts. He further states that war is nothing but a duel on a larger scale.⁷² His definition is more pertinent when the Anglo Afghan wars are seen in the light of his works. The conflict on the north western frontier is thus an extension of policy, there are duels taking place between the tribes and the state.

2.6 Romance of Frontier

During British Raj, quite a lot has been written by the soldiers, statesmen, and administrators. Parliamentary debates, questions and answers, policy

⁷⁰ M.G. Forsyth, *The Theory of International Affairs*, pp, 167-170.

⁷¹ Carl Von Clausewitz *On War* edited and translated Micheal Howard , Peter Paret (Princeton 1976) Originally published as *Vom Kriege* between 1816-1830.

⁷² Clausewitz *On War*, p-69.

and command papers(HL,HC), official reports, gazettes, speeches and documentaries are rich source for analytic induction. The present and existing literature written by British officials between 1830-1947 conveys a Romance of Frontier. The British ingress into the subcontinent has profound impact on the current situation on the northwestern frontiers of Pakistan. British for a change did not entered into Indus Valley from the west or north west rather they came from east , as traders and ultimately they became the power to be. However military played the key factor in establishing the British as the sovereign power in sub continent. Thus to understand the present conflict, it is pertinent to have a study of British military culture; present day Pakistan military retains the British way of warfare.

On 31st December 1599 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to ‘The Company of Merchants of London trading unto the East Indies.’ On 11th January 1613 the Moghul Emperor Jahangir issued a firman to establish a factory at Surat to Captain Best the company’s representative. The first English colony was established at Surat in 1612, in 1625 a trading centre was established at Masulipatam (Madras) and in 1634 a trading factory was establish at Piplee (Bengal). Later these factories and trading centres were fortified and troops some British some natives were employed for the protection. Up till 1686 the right of establishing the military settlements were possessed by the Dutch and Portuguese

only. James II in 1686 granted the right to establish military establishment to BEIC ‘ maintain troops and making war and peace with any people in India not Christians’. The French East India Company was already established in 1604. In 1698 a new Company of Merchants received its charter in England, in 1708 both companies were amalgamated under the title of The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies or East India Company. Thus these areas became the presidencies Bombay, Madras and Bengal each having its own army commanded by separate commander in chief who also was the president answerable to directors at London.

By 1741, the Bombay Army had a battalion of troops consisting of seven companies and formal artillery was raised in 1748, in the same year Major Lawrence Stringer was appointed as the commander in chief of all the armies in India. Promotion was strictly based upon seniority only in Bombay the battalion system was adopted in other two presidencies the companies remained the basic unit. The feud between the French & British trading companies brought a larger influx of European troops into India and also an increase in the army of native soldiers. In 1754 , the British and French troops clashed at Madras in the same year the first detachment of Royal Troops 39th Foot arrived in India as reinforcement it also brought into effect the

Mutiny Act into India thus the forces in India were divided into Royal Troops, Company's European Troops and Company's Native Troops. In 1757, the first Indian Regiment was organised onto European pattern it had native troops but officers were all British it was known as 'Lal Paltan', it had three British officers several British non commissioned officers, 42 Indian officers and 820 Indian rank and file, the Paltan had ten companies. It also had an Indian commandant and adjutant. In Madras six such battalions were raised in 1759 and in Bombay native battalions were raised in 1767, the man responsible for this pragmatic organisation was Clive known as 'Clive of Plassey' in history. The officers of East India Company troops despite their seniority were junior to the King's troops and this created several mutinies among them mainly over pay, the native Bengal troops also show their resentment mainly over the pay. This resulted in reorganisation of the army in India in 1796, the number of British troops in India both company and king amounted to over 13000 where as the native troops numbered around 57000. Reorganisation resulted in decrease of native troops and increase in the number of British officers which were increased to 22 from the previous 12, the system of two battalion regiment was also introduced. A colonel commanded the regiment having two lieutenant colonels, one for each battalion which also had one major, four captains, 11 lieutenants

and five ensigns. The battalions were also numbered for the first time in this organisation.

In 1801, the King of Oudh ceded 32000 square miles of territory and 15 million inhabitants to the BEIC for dues due from him to the company. The Emperor of Delhi became a pensioner of the BEIC in 1803. The military campaigns in Nepal in 1818, resulted in further victories for the BEIC. In 1824, further reforms were carried out in the army which resulted in the breaking up of two battalion regiment for the Indian troops it also necessitated renumbering of battalions, the irregular cavalry regiments were also raised the ratio of cavalry to infantry battalions was 1 to 7. In 1834 the BEIC discontinued all transactions of trade and devoted exclusively on administration , all its property movable and immovable, factories, fortifications were transfer to the crown while the revenues and the administration remained in its hand, the troops of the East India Company were placed under the crown. The proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November 1858 as the empress of India practically ceased the existence of East India Company and its troops. The company's European troops became British regiments and artillery of three presidencies was amalgamated into Royal Artillery. In 1861 reorganisation was carried out under which the strength of British officers in cavalry and infantry regiments was reduced to six per battalion

however the presidency system was retained but a staff corps was introduced into them.

2.7 Great Game & Forward Policy

Much of today's unrest and violence on north west frontier is attributed to the Great Game and Forward Policy. Both have historical foundations. Russians had already occupied Khiva in 1717, Ghitan in 1724 and Asterabad in 1781. Thus the fear was perceived from the eastward expansion of Russia towards the India.⁷³

British till 1800 had very little knowledge of the areas west of Indus, they sent young officers to explore the frontiers, it was in relation to the Napoleon's (1769 – 1821) threat and the role of Persia , it resulted in the

⁷³Anila, Bali .*The Russo-Afgha Boundary Demarcation 1884-95:Britain & The Russian Threat To The Security Of India*, {School of Humanities, University of Ulster.Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.1985}. pp 25-27

1801 Anglo – Persian Treaty. Captain Malcolm was able to signed a treaty with Persia under which Shah of Persia issued a firman expelling all Frenchmen from his country. Another aim of the mission was to push forward a Persian Army on Herat as a means of diverting Shah Zaman from his long threatened descent on Hindustan who on two previous occasions had advanced in person to Lahore.⁷⁴ The success of Napoleon in Egypt was a paramount threat to India. Persia as a result fought its first pitch battle with Russia in 1804 at Erivan and lost many of its towns. This defeat resulted in a tri party alliance of Persia – France and Russia against England or India. After 1815 the so called threat changed from France to Russia and the area of interest also shifted towards the West, North West & North of Indus Valley. British in order to keep an eye on the affairs wanted to have a friendly and a subservient ruler in Kabul which was at time under control of Dost Muhammad.

British failed in diplomacy to achieve their aim and therefore the First Anglo Afghan War (1838-42) took place. Ranjeet Singh did not allowed troops of BEIC to march through his territory which was the most feasible in terms of logistics. The first Anglo Afghan war resulted for a brief time to have a friendly Afghan ruler, the Shah Shuja at Kabul, however Afghans revolted

⁷⁴ Calcutta Review 1849, Vol XII, Article I, 1849, *Our Political Relations with Persia*.

against Shah Shuja and British Consulate at Kabul was burnt in 1841 and British had to suffer the worst military defeat in its history.⁷⁵ That disaster in Kabul laid the foundation of 1857 mutiny or war of independence in India, it failed. In Post 1857 the War Office and politicians in London especially prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favoured a 'Forward Policy' which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents stationed as far forward as possible there by making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy.⁷⁶ There were statesmen who out rightly rejected the very idea of any Russian invasion to India, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defence line.⁷⁷ Adoption of Forward Policy, led to the Second Anglo- Afghan War in 1878, the war itself had similar results as in the 1841, the British consulate at Kabul was burnt. Thus it adds evidence to the hypothesis that history repeats itself.

⁷⁵ Azmat, Hayat, *The Durand Line its Geo-Strategic Importance* { Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000} pp 63-64

⁷⁶ Miller, *Khyber*, pp 85-86.

⁷⁷ Mujtaba ,Razvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan, a Study of Frontiers Problem in Pakistan Foreign Policy* {National Publishing House, Karachi, 1971} pp, 144-145.

2.8 Militia

Militia and its concept was first postulated by Nicolai Machiavelli, he highlighted the concept of Militia in his *Art of War*⁷⁸, which is based upon the ancient system of protecting own home land or city. To Machiavelli, it is only the natives or Militia which will have the conviction to guard their own land and cities, to him a military which is a profession and thrives on pay lacks that conviction. Machiavelli's depiction and dialogues of Italian city states are very much in line with the tribes and tribal layout of own frontier region.

The term Militia first came into English language on 1st March 1641, when the member addressing the house of commons said ‘ *I do heartily wish, that this great word, this new word, the Militia, this harsh word, might never have come within these walls*⁷⁹. The dictionary meaning of the word Militia, are non-military persons, citizens who carry arms for the defence of their

⁷⁸ Nicolai Machiavelli *Art of War* was written 1519-1520

⁷⁹ Mr Whitelocke addressing the House of Commons. Lieutenant General Sir Howley Goodenough and Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Dalton *The Army Book For The British Empire, a record of the development and present position of the military forces and their duties in peace and war*. London: printed for Her Majesty stationery office, 1898.

locality. The very word Militia,⁸⁰ at present has lost its original meaning and is quoted more in terms of anarchy. In modern term, Militia conveys a group of armed men who are not under control of state, and creates a mind-set of a mob armed, as in Iraq, Libya, where as in America and in Canada it has a different connotation. Militia in England are traced to Levies of men raised by King Alfred (871-899 AD) to help repel Danish invasion, in the middle ages this evolved into two branches, an army

⁸⁰ The dictionary definition of 'militia' is a group of citizens who are organized or capable of providing paramilitary or policing service, namely: An army reserve composed of part-time soldiers (organized militia). A nation's able-bodied citizens who can be called upon to defend it (unorganized militia). A non-government military force (private or public militia). Militia as a word was first used in British Parliament in 1641, it envisaged the arming of native population and carrying out drill and practices twice a week and to be deployed in close vicinity of their homes. In America, the Militia was more organised having a detail layout of rank and organisational structure.. John Kenneth Rowland. *Origin of the Second Amendment: The creation of the constitutional rights of Militia and of keeping and bearing Arms.* Ohio State University, 1978. Lieutenant General Sir Howley Goodenough and Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Dalton *The Army Book For The British Empire, a record of the development and present position of the military forces and their duties in peace and war.* London: printed for Her Majesty stationery office, 1898. For details on British Militia see http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/england.asp also see <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/revolution/collections/collections-glorious-revolution/billofrights/http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/civilwar/overview/the-breakdown/>

raised for specific wars at home and abroad, with a permanent but small ‘Guards and garrison’ and a county based Militia known as Trained band.⁸¹

Militia in England had a convoluted history mainly due to the distrust between the crown and the parliament, more so due to the religious differences among the population. England did not had any standing army , and what little it had was never trusted and admired, as the population believed that navy can defend the island . By the end of 1760, certain reorganisation took place I Militia, the age limit was fixed between 18-50 with a service period of three years, the concept of ‘ballott’ was introduced. In 1808, another act of Parliament was passed through which the ‘local militia for Scotland and England were raised apart from the general militia already in place. The training of Militia now was limit to one year in service and discharge for two years. In England, Militia was granted the umbrella of parliament, principally it was accorded the right to bear arms and carryout training in their own specific shires and counties.⁸² Later Militia was raised in Ireland but it had a religious colour.

⁸¹Victoria Henshaw *Scotland and British Army 1700-1750* , unpublished thesis for Ph.D , {University of Birmingham,2011},p-288

⁸² Lieutenant General Sir Howley Goodenough and Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Dalton *The Army Book For The British Empire*,

United States of America (USA) is an interesting study in all aspects, the very fact that where as the history of England or India is shrouded in mystery with many of the things being derived from the customs and oral history as is being observed in case of Militia, the USA by the virtue of the fact that being a new world, it had almost everything in written and well-kept in archives. In terms of Militia, the very first act of Militia was passed by Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England on 2 November 1776. It declares, that it is not only the interest but the duty of all nations to defend their country , lives, liberties and properties. On the Militia , it refers to what has been called as Trained-Band, now called as Militia, it is to be comprised from the men of the town, compulsory , however there are certain exemptions to senators, school master, clergy , university, law makers . All men between the age of 15-50 will be called to serve in Militia, however no person will be forced to serve in a militia of other town in which he is not residing. Three major generals to be chosen through ballot by the council, and militia to be organised into brigades, brigades having regiments and regiments having companies, each company to have 68 men, and be formed from a particular town. The companies will elect their captain and two second lieutenants, whereas the selection of brigadier and colonel apart from lieutenant colonel and major will be done by the council.

Men serving in the continental army to be treated as serving in the militia as well.

The quantity and quality of equipment to be carried and borne by the militia is also specified, each to equip himself with a good firearm, a bayonet fitted to his gun, cutting sword , hatchet, a pouch having capacity to hold 15 rounds of cartridges, one pound of powder. Act specify that any one unable to furnish himself will be furnished by the town, and as such all his equipment be treated as the property of the town, in case the equipment is destroyed or embezzled apart from punishment the individual will pay the double of cost. Same holds true for the officers who were warned in the act that in case they fail to equip themselves within one month of getting commissioned, they will be removed from the command by the council. Each regiment to muster at least eight times a year, brigadiers were instructed to inspect their regiments at least twice a year, failing to do so will result in sacking from command. Although the companies selected their captains and subalterns, but the act prohibit the officers so selected from offering any drink or any treat to the troops , and if found guilty will be removed from command, same holds true for the bribery , and

firing unnecessary of guns in training was another crime punishable with fines or removal from service.⁸³

Act further accepted that all those men who are above the age of sixty , if willing, can equip themselves with arms and will be placed under the command of the militia officers in the hour of the need , however certain religious groups including Quakers were exempted from this . American Congress passed similar acts later, but by and large the rules and terms given in this pioneer Militia act were incorporated in the later acts. *every able-bodied white male citizen...of the age of 18 years and under the age of 45...be enrolled in the militia...Every citizen so enrolled...shall within six months thereafter, provide himself with a good musket or forelock, a sufficient*

⁸³Initially the President of USA was not empowered to call upon any Militia without the approval of Congress. The first Act, passed May 2, 1792, provided for the authority of the president to call out the militias of the several states, "whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe. also see the full text in

http://www.constitution.org/mil/mil_act_1792.htm

The **Militia Act of 1862**, 12 Stat. 597, enacted July 17, 1862, was legislation enacted by the [37th United States Congress](#) during the [American Civil War](#) that allowed [African-Americans](#) to participate as war laborers and soldiers for the first time since the [Militia Act of 1792](#).he ***Militia Act of 1808***, Stat. [1], formally "An act making provision for arming and equipping the whole body of the militia of the United States", enacted April 23, 1808,^[1] was legislation enacted by the [10th United States Congress](#) that provided an annual appropriation of \$200,000, to provide funding for arms and equipment for the various state militias.

bayonet and belt and...not less than twenty-four cartridges..."

In 1903, the major change in American Militia came when Militia Act of 1903, which became known as the Dick Act was passed. This law repealed the Militia Acts of 1792 and organized the militia into two groups: the Reserve Militia, which included all able-bodied men between ages 17 and 45, and the Organized Militia, which included state militia (National Guard) units receiving federal support.⁸⁴ Thus it can be seen that the progress of American Militia is no different from the Militia development in England, one of the back ground of the bill was the various differences among the state and federal control of the Militia. In 1812 the New York Militia refused to take part in the war on the basis of the law, that they are only liable to serve within their own state and not outside.⁸⁵ In last century, all such Militias in United Kingdom and United States were reorganised into national guards and auxiliary forces but retaining the basic charter.

⁸⁴ [Act of Jan. 21, 1903, 47th Congress, 2nd session, chapter 196, 32 Stat. 775-780., Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, Bill Becomes Law: New Law Makes Militia Part of Federal Military Force, January 16, 1903, Act of Jan. 21, 1903, 47th Congress, 2nd session, chapter 196, 32 Stat. 775-780.](#)

⁸⁵ Jonatahn David Hills *The Militia relationship with the regular army in the wars of 1812 with particular respect to the Militia of Ohio and New York*, Ph.D thesis, University of Sunderland, 2000

2.9 Frontier Militia

The Militia on western frontiers of India took birth after the annexation of Punjab. After the death of Ranjeet Singh the Sikh empire collapsed after waging two wars against the British, First Anglo – Sikh War (1845 – 1846) which resulted in cessation of certain areas of Punjab to the British including Kashmir, the resultant Second Anglo - Sikh war (1848 – 1849) resulted in annexation of Punjab by the BEIC. Corps of Guides in 1846 -47, was the very first instance of recruiting the frontier natives into a military organisation, no matter how loose but still to work under the British Officers. Success of Guides led to formation of a separate force the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force(1849), under command of Punjab Government instead of Central Government at Calcutta.⁸⁶

On the eve of British annexation of Punjab the main opposition was from the mujahedeen which were settled in the east of Peshawar. On the other hand the tribes of Waziristan had nothing to do with these mujahedeen so were the other Pasthu speaking tribes of Khyber. This area of mujahedeen in the Swat, Buner,

⁸⁶ Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India &The Development Of Frontier Warfare 1849-1947.*„Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King's College, University of London. pp 20-25

Dir, Hazara later became their stronghold with their leaning towards the Wahabism. Historically thus Frontier campaigns can be classified into two broad categories one which were sent to deal with these mujahedeen , the most famous being the Ambella Pass and Black Mountains. On the other hand the tribes of Waziristan were led by their own khans which did not had the religious fervor or colour rather they were fought and conducted on the tribal ego and pride without any central commander.

Henry Lawrence's Young Men also carried out the administrative reforms in the frontier areas dividing it into frontier districts (Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu & Derajat) acting into treaties, pacts and agreements with the native Pathan Tribes and Afghanistan .⁸⁷ British after the ill fated campaign of 1842 had withdrew from the Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass and pass practically remained closed for another thirty years . As a preliminary to the second Afghan War(1878) the Khyber Pass was the key and as such an early demonstration of power and diplomacy was required. Major Cavagnarri the British political officer designated for Kabul reached an agreement with the Khyber Afridi for a sum of Rupees 5959 per year . The British expeditionary force which had invaded the Afghanistan had opted to take two routes; one from

⁸⁷ Ibid ,p 246

Peiwar Kotal in Kurram , which lies adjacent to the Afridi homeland of Tirah height and Bara Valley, further south another force had gone towards the Kandahar from the ancient Bolan Pass.

Second Anglo Afghan War led to the raising of Militia on the North Western Frontiers and these militias are still very active. As such to understand the history of violence on the western frontier it is pertinent to have an in depth knowledge about them. The very first Militia was Khyber Rifles. They (Khyber Rifles) trace their origin to the Second Afghan War of 1878-79⁸⁸, the British initiated the establishment of the first political agency on the western frontier exclusively for the Khyber Pass, The Khyber Agency. An area within the Punjab province which was directly under the Foreign Secretary of India at Calcutta, pass had recently been taken over from the Afghanistan under the Treaty of Gandamak⁸⁹(26th May 1879). Khyber Rifles took birth as a result of treaty of Gandamak 1878 in which the Kabul agreed to relinquish its hereditary control over the pass and also agreed not to intervene with the Afridi clan; the tribe itself was neither informed and neither it cared what kind of agreement has been agreed upon. In September 1880 the British forces evacuated the

⁸⁸Muhammad Nawaz *Guardians of Frontier*, (Peshawar: Frontier Corps, 1996) pp.61-88

⁸⁹Dr Azmat Hayat *Durand Line Its Geostrategic Importance*, (Area study Centre, University of Peshawar, Hans Seidal Foundation, 2005) p, 120

Afghanistan and the very force of Afridi which comprised of native was the nucleus around which the evacuation took place.

Khyber Rifles initially had strength of 400 footmen and 48 mounted on horse , later it increased to 550 in 1881, with Sardar Aslam Khan Saddozai, he in turn was under command of the political officer of Khyber Rifles which almost eighteen years was Colonel Warburton. Thus the first twenty years of Rifles history is a history of these two men who led, reorganize and expanded the Khyber Jezailchis. It was a levies because they were not issued with any government rifles and only free ration was admissible the pay being paid directly to the clans under silladari system. Between 1880 -1897 there were no less than 16 Frontier expeditions and leaving Chitral (1895) all other were in the vicinity of Peshawar.

Khyber Rifles was followed by by Zhob Levy in 1889, Gilgit Levies 1889, Turi Militia, 1892, Chagai Levies 1896.,Tochi Levies in 1894. In 1900, these Levies were upgraded into Militias like South Waziristan Militia 1900 , North Waziristan Militia {1900}, Chitral Scouts 1903, Mekran Levy Corps 1924. 1st Mahsud Battalion 1938 .2nd Mahsud Battalion 1944, Pishin Scouts 1946, Thall Scouts 1947, Bajaur Scouts 1961, Karakorum Scouts 1965. Kalat Scouts 1965.Dir Scouts, Mohmand Rifles , Shawal Rifles , Swat Scouts

were all raised between 1970 -1999 where as Orakzai , Khattak and Bhattani Scouts being raised after 2001.⁹⁰ All militias had similar organisation, having a strength of 1200-2000 men, they wore uniform which was more in line with British Army dress code. Officers were all British from regular army on secondment, men were from the tribes of the respective political agency. Present day Frontier Corps, was raised in 1907 as a liaison headquarters, to protect the Indian Frontier.

Among the published material Colonel Sir Robert Warburton's *Eighteen Years in the Khyber 1879-1898*⁹¹ stands out. Warburton has a unique place among all the British officers who served on Frontier, he had the Afghan blood line and he is credited with maintaining peace and control of strategic Khyber Pass and the Afridi tribe. He took all the leading Maliks of Afridi tribe on a month long tour from Peshawar to Calcutta on train and came back via sea to Karachi then onwards to Quetta and back to Peshawar; it provides such a rare glimpse of tribal mind, seldom has any one stayed with these tribal malaks for so long on such a pleasure trip. These tribal malaks offered prayers at governor general tea party at

90 In 1974, Frontier Corps Baluchistan was raised and Zhob Militia, 2nd Mahsud Scouts, Pishin Scouts, Sibi Scouts, Chagai Militia, and Kalat Scouts were placed under them. A year later, in 1975, Gilgit Scouts was placed under Force Commander Northern Areas.

⁹¹ Colonel Sir Robert Warburton's *Eighteen Years in the Khyber 1879-1898* (London: 1900).

Calcutta which was unprecedented, they did not put on the British dress of trouser or coat, thus it can be induced that these tribal malaks have been a different breed from the other natives of India. Another important work by an equally important personality is that of Richard Isaac Bruce⁹², a former political agent of Baluchistan and later commissioner Derajat division. Bruce's work is important as it draws comparison between the Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier (it was part of Punjab till 1903), secondly, Bruce was instrumental in opening the Gomal Pass and establishing of political agencies in Waziristan. H.L. Nevill Captain⁹³, *Campaigns of The North West Frontier* is the very first account of the campaigns on the North Western Frontier, from the very first in 1850 against Afridis of Kohat Pass – Mohmand Field Force in 1908. Field Marshall Roberts wrote the foreword '*The history of the north west frontier of India is one long record of strife with the wild and war like tribes that inhabit the difficult mountainous region which is the borderland between British India and Afghanistan...a discussion of the policy which regulates our dealings with the tribes on the north west frontier is outside the scope of this book*'.

⁹² Richard Isaac Bruce, *The Forward Policy and its results or Thirty Five Years work amongst The tribes on our North Western Frontier of India* (London:1900)

⁹³ H.L. Nevill Captain, *Campaigns of The North West Frontier*, First edition 1910 (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003)

Colonel Algernon Durand was the younger brother of Mortimer Durand⁹⁴ the foreign secretary of India, who drew the famous Durand Line. Algernon, led the military expedition and also established the Gilgit Agency in the north, his work *Making of Frontier*⁹⁵ is a primary source in understanding the very basic policy consideration and the cultural values in north.

*A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*⁹⁶ and *Imperial Gazetteer Provincial Series*⁹⁷ are important primary sources, gazetteers provides quantitative primary data about the districts apart from history and administration. The census reports which are part of these gazetteers are a continuous link of data. For example the population of NWFP increased by 32% between 1891-1901. The gazetteers also highlight that census was carried out in Tochi Valley in 1903, having a population of 23,000.

⁹⁴ Sir Percy Sykes, *The Right Honorable Sir Mortimer Durand a biography*, (London: Cassel & Company, 1926,)

⁹⁵ Algernon Durand. *Making of a Frontier, five years experience and adventure in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral and eastern Hindu Kush*. (London: John Murray, 1899)

⁹⁶ *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to Federally & Provincially Administered Tribal Areas, Kashmir and Afghanistan*, rearranged and reprinted under the authority of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas and States and Frontier regions, Islamabad, 1997.

⁹⁷ *Imperial Gazetteer Provincial Series North West Frontier province*, First edition 1910 (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel 2002)

Evelyn Howell's, *Mizh*⁹⁸ is rated as classic and was compulsory read for all officers posted in South Waziristan Scouts (SWS). Few officers who have served on Frontier published their autobiographies, *Frontier Scouts* by Colonel H. R. C. Pettigrew (1955, Sussex) it is rare and very limited edition, it is about South Waziristan Scouts and the Agency. Charles Chenevix Trench⁹⁹ is another writer who has contributed literature on Militia in the pre partition era, the limitation of Charles and Frank Leeson¹⁰⁰ another veteran of Frontier is that their work covers only period up till 1947. On the other hand, they have the advantage of consulting the primary sources in London regarding their work. Trench's father was a political agent also thus he has been able to contribute positively.. In terms of research work and publication,

Partition of Subcontinent and birth of Pakistan and India itself covers a whole study of literature; more than politics and religion the threat of communism also weighed in making the western frontiers of Pakistan.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Evelyn Howell's, *Mizh a Monograph on Government's Relations with the Mahsud Tribe* (Simla: Government of India, 1931).)

⁹⁹ Charles Chenevix Trench *The Frontier Scouts* , Indian edition (New Delhi: Rupa & company, 2002)

¹⁰⁰ Frank Leeson *Frontier Legion With the Khassadars of North Waziristan* (Sussex : Leeson Archive,2003).

¹⁰¹ *Jinnah Papers, Pakistan Fangs of Birth, 15th August-30 September 1947, Volume V,VI,VII* Culture Division, Government of Pakistan,2000.

By and large partition was on historical pattern thus the Indus Civilisation transitioned into Pakistan and Ganges Valley became Bharat. Sir Mortimer Wheeler's the *Indus Civilisation* (1953, London) is a watermark work, as it links the history of past Indus Valley to the newly born Pakistan.

Post 1947 Frontier Literature

In post-independence the primary source for north western frontier is the *Jinnah Papers*¹⁰², proceedings of senate and national assembly, joint communiqués of foreign office and the war diaries, digest of service of militia and army regiments. *The Majaheedin Movement*¹⁰³ by Jahanzeb Khalil deals in depth with the area north and east of Peshawar, it traces the unrest at that particular time to the history. *Durand Line*¹⁰⁴ by Azmat Hayat Khan was a timely inclusion on the crucial and vital Durand Line, which for many is the apple of discord in the province.

The key person in post 9/11 scenario was the President General Pervaiz Musharraf, and his account of diplomacy, intelligence, initiation of war and most

¹⁰² *Jinnah Papers*, , Volume V,Vi,VII, Culture Division, Government of Pakistan

¹⁰³ Jahanzeb Khalil *The Majaheedin Movement In Malakand and Mohmand Agency 1900-1940* (Peshawar: Area Study Centre, 2000)

¹⁰⁴ Azmat Hayat Khan *Durand Line its Strategic importance* .

importantly the very reason that he decided to join the American efforts in combating the terror. Musharraf's account thus is the very first account to come out from Pakistan in post 9/11.¹⁰⁵

2.10 Thesis & Dissertations

In 1893, Fredrick Turner¹⁰⁶ published his essay, 'The Significance of The Frontier in American History', popularly known as Frontier Thesis. Turner was of the view that the Frontier is the outer edge of the wave, the meeting point between savage and civilisation. The American Frontier is treated as the margin of that settlement which has a density of two or more person to the square mile. Turner then went on to explain that the

¹⁰⁵ Pervaiz Musharraf *In the Line of Fire a Memoir* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006) equally important is . Bob Woodward, *Bush At War*,(New York, Simon & Schuster,2002). Bob Woodward , *Plan of Attack*,(London: Simon & Schuster).

¹⁰⁶ Fredric Turner an American historian who was awarded with a doctorate degree in 1890 from University of Wisconsin.

aim of his essay is to ‘call to attention’...at frontier the environment is first too strong for man, He must accept the conditions which it furnish or perish.

At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American... Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines...In the course of the seventeenth century the frontier was advanced up the Atlantic river courses...In the first half of the eighteenth century another advance occurred, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, made an expedition in 1714 across the Blue Ridge...The King attempted to arrest the advance by his proclamation of 1763, forbidding settlements beyond the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic; but in vain... United States Army fought a series of Indian wars in Minnesota, Dakota, and the Indian Territory...In these successive frontiers we find natural boundary lines which have served to mark and to affect the characteristics of the frontiers...The first frontier had to meet its Indian question, its question of the disposition of the public domain, of the means of intercourse with older settlements, of the extension of political organization, of religious and educational activity. And the settlement of

*these and similar questions for one frontier served as a guide for the next.*¹⁰⁷

Frontier and British raj has been a subject of interest to many historians and quite a number of research has been carried. Gagan, Kumar's *Small Wars on the Frontier, The Raj and the Army, c.1800-C.1900*¹⁰⁸ is the pioneer study by an Indian scholar within India on the north west frontier and army. Gajendar Singh *Between Self and Soldier, Indian Sipahis and their Testimony during the Two World Wars*¹⁰⁹ although deals with Indian army but it does not touch upon the conflicts on the north-western frontier. Timothy Robert Moreman. 'Passing it On'. *The Army in India and the development of Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*¹¹⁰. and Brandon Douglas Marsh's. *Ramparts of Empire*, are two classical studies which are on the army on north western frontier; main

¹⁰⁷http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/The_Significance_of_the_Frontier_in_American_History" also see Frederick Jackson Turner *The Frontier in American History* October 14, 2007 [eBook #22994],<http://www.gutenberg.org/>

¹⁰⁸ Gagan, Kumar's. *Small Wars on the Frontier, The Raj and the Army, c.1800-C.1900*. School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, (New Delhi, 2010.)

¹⁰⁹ Gajendar Singh's *.Between Self and Soldier, Indian Sipahis and their Testimony during the Two World Wars*. School of History, Classics and Archaeology, (University of Edinburgh, 2009.)

¹¹⁰ Timothy Robert Moreman. 'Passing it On'. *The Army in India and the development of Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*. (University of London, 1995.)

emphasis is that in that period, the British army had a fear of getting a knockout blow in Waziristan and as such it expanded rather than cut down as was being done in rest of India . However the Militia seems to be almost non existent in these studies and same holds true for Salma's *Grudging Concession*¹¹¹ . Christensen Richard's¹¹². although is an anthropologist study and research yet the study not only misses the Khyber Rifles but what little has been added is quite off the mark. Another thesis on the tribal area is *Mohmand Agency* carried out in 1974 by Abdullah Mohmand in Peshawar University, this is the only doctorate level study carried out by a native of the agency, however the Militia or the Mohmand Rifles are almost negligible in subject matter. One of the key reason for the omission of Frontier Corps and that of local Militias is the absence of research culture within Pakistan. A weakness or shortcoming highlighted by Najmul Abedin, in his thesis¹¹³ another thesis which links the present day tribal areas to the past is that of Ikram Ahmad Butt's¹¹⁴ *Lord Curzon and the*

¹¹¹ Salma's *Grudging Concession* , *The Origin of The Indiannisation of The Indian Army Officers Corps 1817-1917*. (Montreal: McGill,1996).

¹¹² Christensen Richard *Conflict and Change among the Khyber Afridis: A study of British policy and tribal society on the North-West Frontier 1839-1947*. (University of Leicestershire,1987).

¹¹³ *The Working of district administration in Pakistan 1947-1964*. (University of Durham,1969.)

¹¹⁴ Ikram Ahmad Butt *Lord Curzon and the Indian State 1899-1905* (University of London,1968.)

Indian State 1899-1905. Relations between the British India and Afghanistan along with Russia have caught the imagination of quite a number of scholars¹¹⁵, the three Anglo Afghan wars and finally the actual invasion of the Afghanistan by the Russia in 1979, the very act for which the events in 1839 were taken. Grau a retired American army officer had written few books about the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, his thesis¹¹⁶ covers the entire war in Afghanistan and as such differs from other who were concentrating on one particular area. Umer Khan's¹¹⁷ '*The case of the Pashtun Tribes*'. and Intikhab Alam's¹¹⁸. '*A case study of Khyber Agency*'. Intikhab's thesis thus is the second thesis on the Khyber Agency, first being that of Richard Christensen, and again the role of Militia or Khyber Rifles is glaringly missing.

¹¹⁵ Adrian Preston's. *British military policy and the defence of India, a study of British Military Policy, Plans and preparations during the Russian crisis of 1876-1880*. (University of London, 1966). Ali Muhammad's. *Soviet Military intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on the security of Pakistan*. (,1995.). Marshall Graham's *Dar Al Harb, The Russian General Staff and the Asiatic Frontier 1860-1917*. (University of Glasgow,2001.) Agha Zahid Hilali. *US-Pakistan partnership in response to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1977-88: Causes, , Dynamics and Consequences*.(University of Hull, 2002)

¹¹⁶ Lester W, Grau. *The Coils of Anaconda: America's First Conventional Battle in Afghanistan*. (University of Kansas,2009).

¹¹⁷ Umer Khan. *Re-Emergent of pre-state structure: The case of the Pashtun Tribes*. University of London,2011

¹¹⁸ Intikhab Alam. *Challenges in the establishment of the writ of the state in FATA,A case study of Khyber Agenc*). (Peshawar University, 2013).

Rikomen Katja,¹¹⁹. *Beyond the Sipah, Jaish and Lashkars*. and Najeeb Jan's¹²⁰ *Metacolonial State: Pakistan, Deoband*. These two theses do justice to the research on religion, especially the thesis of Katja is classic in a sense that she was attracted towards the very subject of her inquiry through a newspaper news while being in Islamabad.

Army and military are basic bricks on which our modern state ship is based upon, the character and behaviour of the military is subject to a wide range of studies and research as to why a particular army behaves and acts in particular manner thus to understand Pakistan Army culture apart from Shuja Nawaz's *Crossed Swords* {Oxford,2000}. Ejaz Hussain¹²¹.: *The case of Pakistan*. Kirk S.Campbell. *Civil Military relationship Pakistan*.¹²². Paul Ernest Lenze.¹²³ "Islamic

¹¹⁹ Katja,Rikomen. *Beyond the Sipah, Jaish and Lashkars : Sectarian violence in Pakistan a reproduction of exclusivist sectarian discourse*.(University of Bradford,2012)

¹²⁰ Najeeb ,Jan's *Metacolonial State: Pakistan, Deoband Ulema and the Biopolitics of Islam*. (University of Michigan,2010)

¹²¹ Ejaz Hussain. *Military Agency, Politics and the state: The case of Pakistan*. (Heidelberg University,2010)

¹²² Kirk S.Campbell. *Civil Military relationship and political liberalisation: A Comparative study of the military corporateness and political values in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Pakistan*. (George Washington University, Washington D.C. 2009)

¹²³ Paul Ernest Lenze. *Civil-Military intervention and "Islamic Democracies"*: *Military intervention and withdrawal in Algeria, Pakistan and Turkey*. (Washington State University,2011).

Democracies': Ashraful Hasan¹²⁴. *nature of rule in Pakistan.*, are few of the thesis consulted in order to understand the cultural behaviour of the military.

On the other side, Shabana Fayyaz¹²⁵, *A Case Study of Musharraf Regime* is an indepth analytical study of Musharraf's regime itself. Jules Stewart's¹²⁶ is one among very few which highlights the Frontier Corps of Rifles, Scouts and Militia, popularly known as Militia, Frontier Corps or FC. Contrary to the title it deals only with the Khyber Rifles from inception in 1878 till 1947; the word Al-Qaeda is a deception. Carter Malkasian¹²⁷, studies one district in Afghanistan, to help answer, whether the USA and its allies were bound to be defeated in Afghanistan, should the USA heeded the warnings of history and stayed out. Sean Maloney¹²⁸, *Confronting the Chaos, a rogue military historian returns to Afghanistan*. his book covers the war in Afghanistan from 2003-4, he states a statement of

¹²⁴ Ashraful Hasan. *Islamic Political Culture and authoritarian Military Rule: An Analysis of the nature of rule in Pakistan*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta.)

¹²⁵ Shabana Fayyaz. *Pakistan Response towards Terrorism, A Case Study of Musharraf Regime*. (University of Birmingham, 2010.)

¹²⁶ Jules Stewart's *The Khyber Rifles From British Raj to Al Qaeda* (Sutton: 2005.)

¹²⁷ Carter Malkasian, *War Comes to Garmser Thirty Years of Conflict on the Afghan Frontier* (.NewYork: Oxford, 2013).p-xxi.

¹²⁸ Sean Maloney, *Confronting the Chaos, a rogue military historian returns to Afghanistan*. (Annapolis: Naval Institute. 2009), p-xiii.

Osama Bin Laden ‘ Why are your government especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Australia allying themselves with America in the attack against us in Afghanistan’ Doug Stanton¹²⁹, writes about Taliban, these guys(Taliban) do not surrender, they fought to the death. Professor Lieutenant General Peter Leahy who was chief of army staff in Australian Army(2002-2008) and now at University of Canberra writes in the preface of the book ‘ today our soldier face the descendants of the hardy Afghan warriors on a field of battle that has changed little over the centuries...provides valuable insight into the conduct of today’s campaign, which can help deliver us from the perils of repeating the mistakes’.¹³⁰

2.11 Inference from Literature

¹²⁹ Doug Stanton,, *Horse Soldiers The extraordinary story of a band of U.S Soldiers who rode to victory in Afghanistan*. (NewYork: Scriber,2009),2..

¹³⁰ Kevin Baker *War in Afghanistan A Short history of Eighty Wars and Conflicts in Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier 1839-2011*. {Australia:Rosenburg,2011},pii.

The literature review highlights that the western frontiers of Pakistan specifically the tribal areas are shrouded in mystery, myths and romance.

- a. Civilisation are geographical entities and there are ideological civilisations as well. Civilizations existed and prospered around the rivers and they have not died rather they are living, Pakistan is the modern name of Indus Civilisation. Valleys makes civilisation, tribes inhabit the valleys and as such are in constant state of violence against each other , either due to economics or on religious basis. The Indus Civilisation is a militant civilisation. History of Indus Valley is in fact a history of military in the sub continent. British Raj was able to modernise Punjab or the eastern bank of Indus along with few districts across in western bank (Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu} but overall the present day FATA remained a pre-modern civilisation. The North-Western Frontier of Indus valley and that of present day Pakistan comprised of the Pashtun tribes. These tribes which occupies the frontier have varied customs and bones of contentions among them. The tribal system is based upon millenniums old racial superiority, in which

certain tribes , especially those holding the passes considered themselves superior to the other. The intermarriages among tribes are rare, their customary laws on inheritance, dowry, role of women, divorces, revenge are all varying.¹³¹ Indus Civilisation is a collection of valleys, defined as the area, the tributaries which joins with River Indus. Starting from north; River Gilgit, Kabul {which is a combination of River Chitral or Kashkar and Kabul} Swat, Kurram, Tochi, Zhob are the tributaries which joins Indus from the west. Whereas River Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Beas joins River Indus from east; collectively all this is Indus Civilisation. Within this riparian bloodline, exists valley civilisations basing upon the river which flows through them. At Mithankot {Punjab} River Indus attains a single entity and flows down for 500 Kilometres before it falls into Arabian Sea, therefore Indus Valley.¹³²

131 See The Customs of the Tribes adjoining Peshawar District , compiled in 1898 by Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. Aslam Khattak, A Pathan Odyssey,{Oxford,Karachi,2000} pp,70-71.

¹³² Indus before it is joined by the Shyok is known as the Sin-ka-bab (Lion's mouth).Total length of River Indus from Skardu , where it actually becomes a river to Karachi is 1500 Kilometers, however from snout in Tibet to Karachi , it is 2000 Kilometers. Rob Bowden *Celebrating Rivers Through Time, settlement of Indus River*, (Heinmen,Chicago,2005), pp-5-6. George Duncan Geography of

- b. Civilisations are not confined to natural characteristics only but with passage of history new civilisation have emerged most notably military as a civilisation. Military civilisation is not confined to any specific geographic entity but rather is spread across the globe. They have specific dress code, rank, organisation, manners, customs of service, traditions, and way of life. Military in Pakistan or in India or for that matter in England or USA all display these unique traits which distinguish them. Men who form part of this civilisation have own history and traditions , they read similar books (language may differ) and adhere to similar norms; by any definition of civilisation they are a separate civilisation, a civilisation which is not confined to a certain area. Thus when one considers clash of civilisation, it is also between the military (as a separate civilisation) and the geographical civilisation. Military civilisations have varying cultures within its fold, thus army, navy and air

India, (Higgin Brothers, Madras, 1880), pp-1-5, also see James Burghess Geography of India for the use of higher classes in schools and private students, (Bombay, Nelson, 1871) pp-5-6. also see Sir Alexander Cunningham Ancient Geography of India including the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang (Trubner & Co, London, 1871) pp-9, 11, 38, 220, 207, 264

force all display unique cultures yet they are part of one single civilisation. The clash among cultures also takes place within the military civilisation, perhaps the best example is the raising of Royal Air Force and subsequent paper clashes with RAF and British army and Royal Navy over the control of aircraft during World War 2.¹³³ With the industrial revolution a new civilisation took birth, having own distinct characteristics, its way of life is certainly different from agriculture base civilisation. Industrial civilisation gave birth to modern cities, high rise apartment, working hours, safety, working dress and ethics. The people who believe on 'unseen' or on divinity belongs to a separate civilisation as compare to the atheist civilisation; these civilisations are again not bounded by geographic boundaries, thus any insult to a divinity sparks outrage among the particular civilisation across the globe and not only in one specific area. Religions are a form of

¹³³ Anthony Farrar, Sir General, *The Army in The Air History of the Army Aviation Corps* (Washington; Alan Sutton, 1994). Malcolm Cooper, *The Birth Of Independent Air Power British Air Policy in The First World War* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1986). Andrew Lyell, *Memoirs Of An Air Observation Officer* (Picton, Wiltshire, 1985). Malcolm Cooper, , *The Birth Of Independent Air Power British Air Policy in The First World War* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1986).

civilisation, in the past, religions were identical to specific geographic civilisation thus Hinduism to India, Judaism, Christianity and Islam all initially belonged to desert and semi mountain terrain of what we call today as Middle East , at present these are spread across the globe and is not restricted by colour or creed. Today, one can pin point a Sikh among a crowd in any civilisation on globe by virtue of his distinct beard and turban; Sikhism is synonym with the river base civilisation of Punjab.¹³⁴

- c. Entire frontier region is politically unstable even today and it is attributed to the treaties agreed under colonial rule. India and China waged a war in 1962 over the interpretation of the treaty, Pakistan on the other hand acted more maturely and settled the border disputes with both Iran and China in a peaceful manner; ceding areas to both countries in early sixties. The subsequent Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 validated the hypothesis of the Forward Policy, in the end Russia and communism had to retreat and it

¹³⁴ For more on civilization see Felipe Fernandez – Armesto *Civilizations ,culture, ambition and the transformation of nature*.(New York: Free Press,2000). Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper ,ed, *Social Science Encyclopedia* (Lahore: Army ,1989), s.v.Culture.. Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition; s.v. "civilization and cultural evolution"

resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet union itself, such is the volatility of the region.

- d. Causes of violence on western frontiers are not identical or uniform, rather it differ in each valley and with each ethnic group.
- e. The tribes inhabiting the western frontiers are civilised by any standard of definition, there has been no evidence of their being cannibals.
- f. The tribes of western frontier have a distinct civilisation and this became more distinct and marked after the British annexation of areas west of River Indus.
- g. Forward Policy has been the dominating cause of violence along the western frontier and more specifically along the North Western Frontiers from 1800 onwards.
- h. Religion more than economics is the main factor of violence on the western frontiers; the sectarian rift and difference among the Muslims is the main cause in Kurram, Chitral and Gilgit areas. Economics causes are mainly for the small conflicts among the tribes and clans; water is the main cause of conflict among the Pashtun tribes.
- i. Militias on frontier were not raised in classical manner as in UK or USA rather the insecurity among the inferior tribes resulted in the ingress of British in the tribal areas.

- j. Army has been unable to overcome these tribes most notably Wazir, Mahsud and Afridi, however Turi and tribes of Chitral and Gilgit have shown more positive attitude towards the presence of army within their areas.

2.12 Knowledge Gap

The first and foremost is the authenticity of the Alexander The Great's historians narrative. It has never been challenged in modern world, rather it has been taken as an authentic account. However in a critical theory manner the fact that some of the great mountains like Nanga Parbat and Tirch Mir are missing from all accounts puts a serious question on the very accounts. Either the accounts are missing from our present reach or they have been lost.

- a. Absence of any methodology of conducting the research in such war like environment. The Lester Grau's methodology of similar research in Afghanistan is different in a sense that the culture of American academic and military is different

from Pakistan military and academic culture. Same holds true for Carter Malkasian's thesis, although it focus on a single administrative unit in Afghanistan. Specifically no such attempts have been undertaken in Pakistan, thus an absence of methodology in violent stricken tribal areas encompassing both military and militia.

- b. Absence of literature regarding the Militia, specifically in post 1947 and post 9/11 period. This gap in literature needs to be fulfilled as Militia is a vital component in war on terror. There seems to be a misperception about the Militia, they were accused and alleged during the Fakir of Ipi campaign of being soft and similar ideas are being held today by the military. The few books that have been highlighted, about Militia also concentrates on the officers only, the men who hails from the native tribes and forms the backbone of militia have been put in oblivion.
- c. There is no case study of tribal areas in post 9/11.
- d. North Waziristan has emerged as the most volatile among all tribal agencies yet there is no indepth information about it.

Research Questions

1. Why among all political agencies, North Waziristan and specifically Tochi Valley has become the pivot of violence in the War on Terror ?
2. How tribes despite being inferior in manpower and firepower have denied military notion of victory in Tochi Valley ?
3. Is Militia collaborating with the Taliban in North Waziristan and Tochi Valley ?

